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AUTHOR Houston, Laura Pires
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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the history of the Cape Verde Islands, the nature of Cape Verdean immigration to the United States, and the ethnic experience of Cape Verdeans in the U.S. The colonization of the Atlantic archipelago by the Portuguese as part of their expanding slave trade is described and the Islands' economic, ecologic, racial and cultural features are reviewed. The immigration of Cape Verdeans (or "Black Portuguese," as they are sometimes called) to New England is traced back to the mid-seventeenth century. The current distribution of Cape Verdeans, particularly throughout the northeastern region, and their occupational, educational, and economic status are also described. Patterns of ethnicity among this group are examined, focusing especially on the effects of the Islands' recent independent on the ethnic identification of Cape Verdeans abroad. (GC)

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CAPE VERDEANS IN THE UNITED STATES

(CONTINUING A STORY OF STRUGGLE, CREATIVITY, AND PERSISTENCE)

Laura Pires Houston

New York, New York

This paper has been adapted from the writer's Keynote Speech at Sacred Heart University on May 7, 1978, on the occassion of Cape Verdean Ethnic Month. Appreciation is extended to the co-sponsors, Cape Verdean Heritage Committee of Bridgeport/Waterbury/New Haven and the University.

I also wish to acknowledge the Ford Foundation and especially Program Officer Bryant George for their 1975 Travel and Study Award. Throughout that year,, and in subsequent years up to the present, hundreds of discussants have, in addition, participated in and assisted my ongoing study. Most people — informally and formally, representing themselves and/or institutions, — have been open, helpful, and sharing. Only a very few of these important participants are specifically cited in the paper; I acknowledge and thank all of them.

Antonio de Barros in 1961 wrote that Cabo Verde was the least known and least visited among the Portuguese "overseas territories":

> De todas as partes de nosso Ultramar, Cabo Verde
> é a menos conheçida e a menos visitada (1961:31).

If this could be said from the Lisbon perspective (Salazar, in his nearly half-century of Portuguese rule, had never visited Cabo Verde) how much more appropriately stated for Americans.

Information about the Atlantic archipelago has been scant, and most of this is found in larger works on Portuguese Africa (eg, Abshire and Samuels 1969; Davidson 1961; Duffy 1963; Hammond 1966). A 1972 book by Antonio Carreira, a contemporary Cape Verdean living in Lisbon contains, according to anthropologist Sidney Greenfield, "one of the most comprehensive examinations of the subject of slavery and the slave trade . . . available for any single comparable regions (1974:395). Within the last two decades, other works have become available: Elisa Andrade's monograph (1974) on the rise and decline of the slave trade-based economy; T. Bentley Duncan's examination (1972) of the importance of Cabo Verde, Madeira and Azores in 17th century mercantilism; Julio Monteiro's excellent government-sponsored study (1974) of the people called "os rebelados", a community of approximately 1600 persons who moved into the interior of Santiago starting in 1940's and who had maintained the traditional Catholic liturgical forms; Gerard Challand's fascinating account of travels with Amilcar Cabral through the Guinean countryside (1974); and of course the brilliant writings and recorded speeches of Cabral himself (1969; 1973; 1974). Contemporary Cape Verdean-Americans have also added to our knowledge: Norman Araujo of Boston College on the surprisingly vast literature of Cabo Verde (1966), and Mary Louise Nunes of Yale University on the phonology of the "Crioulo" language (1963).

Information on the experience of Cape Verdeans and descendants in the United States is even more sparse; social science attention is primarily from anthropology. Elsie Clews Parsons, a Boasian, interviewed families and individuals in New England in the 1920's and published two volumes of "folk tales" (1923). David Baxter, a Canadian anthropologist, has studied Cape Verdean ethnicity in New Bedford (1974). Greenfield and Estelle Smith (1975) have also written about the experience of Cape Verdeans in the United States.

In many ways, the story of the Cape Verdeans is similar to that of millions of other peoples who migrated to the New World, especially those whose migration started in the last century and who were not so warmly welcomed as the earliest "colonists" from northern and western Europe (Hansen 1961; Novak 1975). But there are also uniquenesses, and these I shall discuss throughout the presentation. I'd like to focus on information, interpretation, and implication:

Information: summarizing the history, development and settlement of the islands, the history of migration and early experience in this country.

Interpretation: examining the impact of a tiny set of islands, the significant and active Cabo Verde—United States connection, and the impact of the recent independence on the United States experience, especially the ethnicity of Cape Verdeans and descendants. Ethnicity is used here in the sense of **peoplehood, sense of feeling with**; it is not necessarily a primordial phenomenon, and it may indeed be created and influenced by situational context and by conscious stimulation. One of the interesting aspects in Cape Verdean ethnicity in the United States context is its incorporation of the variables of immigration history and color — two variables which have particularly powerful meaning in our society.

Implication: I'll be suggesting that the Cape Verdean experience, although of a people small in number, suggests a great deal about the human capacity to survive, to create, and to persist. This experience confronts some important questions facing our current and future society.

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HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Cabo Verde: Discovery, Settlement, Peak and Decline

Lying between 370 and 525 miles off the western coast of Africa and situated within the Sahelian band, Cabo Verde was apparently sighted by Italian and Portuguese navigators between 1455 and 1462 (Abshire and Samuels 1969; Duncan 1972; Hammond 1966; Rodney 1970), and claimed for the government of Portugal. Volcanically-formed approximately 200 million years ago, the islands have become traditionally divided into two groups: **Sotavento** (leeward) islands of Brava, Fogo, Santiago, and Maio; and **Barlavento** (windward) islands of Santo Antao, Sao Vicente, Santa Luzia, Sao Nicolau, Sal and Boa Vista. These ten major islands have had differential rainfalls over the years, but overall, Cabo Verde has experienced devastating cycles of drought, drought-related disease and famine. Between 1747 and 1960, there was an estimated 83 years of famine—approximately one year in every three—claiming more than 385,000 human lives (**Seroantropologia das Ilhas de Cabo Verde** 1969).

Against the backdrop of this history, it is often startling to hear references made by older Cape Verdeans to the existence of lush vegetation and fruits among certain islands in the early 1900's. A 1975 report by a United Nations Consultant suggests possible explanations for this discrepancy:

> . . . it seems very possible that there has been a great deal more vegetation cover than now exists; . . . with the growth of the population, the depradations of livestock (especially goats); and the cutting of firewood, the islands have been gradually denuded of vegetation. It appears that one result of this has been (that) the bare soil is now heated by the sun and the resultant rising currents of hot air tend to repel the moisture-laden clouds, which otherwise might deposit rainfall on the islands. It is indeed quite common to see what appear to be rain clouds passing overhead, even touching the hillsides, without actually causing any precipitation. Thus there is a vicious circle of self-perpetuating drought and lack of vegetation.
>
> If this micro-climate theory is correct, it suggests that a possible long-term development might be to seek to reverse this process by reforestation on the basis of irrigation from groundwater. That there is substantial amount of groundwater . . . . has already been established . . . (Ilett 1975:6) . . .

On a much earlier visit, rainfall irregularities had also been noted:

> During my stay in Brava, I often observed that the island of Fogo was totally clear of clouds and fog, while on Brava, there was a thick cloud cover, or fog, or rain was falling . . . the northern area of Fogo was quite fertile and experienced larger amounts of rainfall, as did some other sections of other islands (Friedlander translated by Hebert and Platzer 1975: 2-3).

There are two particular dimensions of the history and development of Cabo Verde which have special ramifications for the present and future ethnic situation for Cape Verdeans in the United States: the fact that the islands were apparently uninhabited at the time of discovery, and the islands' strategic location.

Although rock inscriptions on Santo Antao and Sao Nicolau have yet to be dated (Friedlander 1975) and there is still some debate, it is generally agreed that the islands were uninhabited when discovered (Abshire and Samuels 1969; Hammond 1966; Rodney 1970). It is certainly likely that the islands were indeed sighted and/or visited by traders and navigators before the 15th century. To my knowledge, however, there has been no record or evidence of conquest of any people or resistance by any inhabitants. It would seem that it can be safely assumed that there was no ongoing society.

If this fact is accepted, then, Cabo Verde was — more than most other colonial entities — created by Portugal. Apparently the archipelago's "original purpose had been to serve as ports of call on the trade route from the Indies and as naval bases" (Hammond 1966:38). It has been suggested further that it would prove to be Portugal's "stepping-stone" to the West Indies and to South America, a position elaborated by Greenfield:

> Plants, animals, and social institutions — plantations and planatation slavery prominent among them — were adapted and modified in the islands, combining elements from distant lands within a loose Portuguese administrative system, and then re-exported in part back to Europe and, to a greater degree, to the expanding colonies in Africa, Asia, and the New World. The result was the creation of a creole culture whose influence on other creole cultures is yet to be systematically explored (1976:394)

This influence on other cultures and social organization forms is also seen in the debate within linguistics. Some contemporary linguists have argued that the Cape Verdean "Crioulo" is actually the genetic basis for all other Creolized languages, especially the Carribbean languages. Nunes has argued that it is fundamentally a Portuguese-based language.

Not having to be concerned with existing state structures or patterns of indigenous social organization, Portugal could establish the governmental, agricultural, educational and administrative systems which best suited its own purposes — and it proceeded to do just that. By the 16th century, Cabo Verde was tied into complex international relationships — with continental Africa, the Iberian peninsula, the rest of Europe, and the New World. By the end of the 15th century, Africans were being brought from the Upper Guine Coast for the sugar and cotton plantations in Fogo and Santiago. The archipelago was probably most useful as part of the slave trade routes and as a supplier of ships. Portugal's particular European status in relation to its neighbors also meant that the archipelago

was open to investments and penetration by other European countries[2]. Evidence of the international traffic (see map on following page), can be seen in the fact that during the 1850's eleven countries had consul offices on seven of the islands (Duncan 1972). Throughout the early centuries, Lisbon consistently restricted Cape Verdean trade and, particularly in the latter part of the 17th century, established monopoly companies which were given by Portugal extremely broad powers over the civil and commercial life of the archipelago (Andrade 1974; Duncan 1972).

Since there were no original inhabitants, one of the perceived differentiating factors among the islands has become the comparative degree of "Africanization" or "Europeanization". The islands having the greatest number of plantations were also the ones settled earliest. The smaller, less accessible or otherwise inhospitable (for example, Maio and Sal were essentially salt deposits) islands were settled later, either by Portuguese families and Africans working as slaves, or mestiços. Regardless of the differential settlement patterns, however, population mixing was widespread within the archipelago. This has produced a population regarded for the last 3 decades as about 70% "mestiço" or "mulatto", 28% "Black" and 2% "White". Percentages such as these must always be held suspect, since they depend so heavily on the criteria of the enumerators and the prevailing norms. Nonetheless, it is widely established that the "indigenous" population of Cabo Verde is a mixed population, with peoples from other countries also adding to the mixture over the years (for example, traders, travellers, merchants from Spain, Holland, England as well as Jews exiled from Spain in the 16th century) (Andrade 1974). Generally, the different peoples did not remain in separate communities, but became part of the "people of Cabo Verde".

Cabo Verde's particular patterns of settlement and colonization correlated with differential treatment both internally and externally. By the mid-16th century, only those designated as "White" or "mestiço" were granted land ownership or trade privileges (Andrade 1974). Similar to Portugal's "adjacent" or "Atlantic" islands, the dual citizenship policy and codes were not applied to Cabo Verde (Bailey, in Abshire and Samuels 1969). In the 20th century, several Cape Verdeans were trained as administrators and functionaries in other colonies "to serve as public examples of Portugal's non-discriminatory practices in Africa" (Duffy 1963:33). Thus, Cabo Verde was apparently accorded "special status" among what Portugal since 1951 called its "overseas territories"[3]. This "special status" has been generally acknowledged, as demonstrated in documents of the United Nations Committee on

Decolonization (UNGA 1962; 1964). However, this ascribed and accepted status also involved the stark reality that Cape Verdeans were part of the slave trader population, who went into the inland waterways of the Upper Guine Coast to obtain persons for the slave trade (Rodney 1970).

Furthermore, this "special status" was insufficient to forestall the oft-repeated colonial experience of peaks and declines, produced by the exploitation of land and people. Production and infrastructural development were primarily for export purposes, with profits and investments enjoyed primarily by foreign trading companies and/or landowners. This "status" also could not prevent the persistent cyclic natural disasters. As mentioned before, the periodic droughts caused disease and famine, which claimed about 385,000 people — a total number of people exceeding today's population of approximately 305,000.

Catholic Church activity started in the mid-15th century, with the primary purpose of proselytizing Africans being shipped to the Americas. A bishopric was established in the mid-15th century, and a cathedral was built in Santiago by 1692. Although the population has remained predominantly Catholic, Protestant missionaries (starting with the well-known Joao Dias) became active in the beginning of this century, stimulating renewed Catholic missionary activity (Araujo 1966; Barbosa 1977; Holbert 1975). Some priests who had worked in the islands have been assigned to United States parishes: for example, Father Celestino, Italian Capuchin monk who had served in Fogo, has for many years pastored a Church in the Roxbury-Dorchester section of Boston. The first Cabo Verde-born Bishop, Dom Paulino Livramento Evora, recently visited the United States.

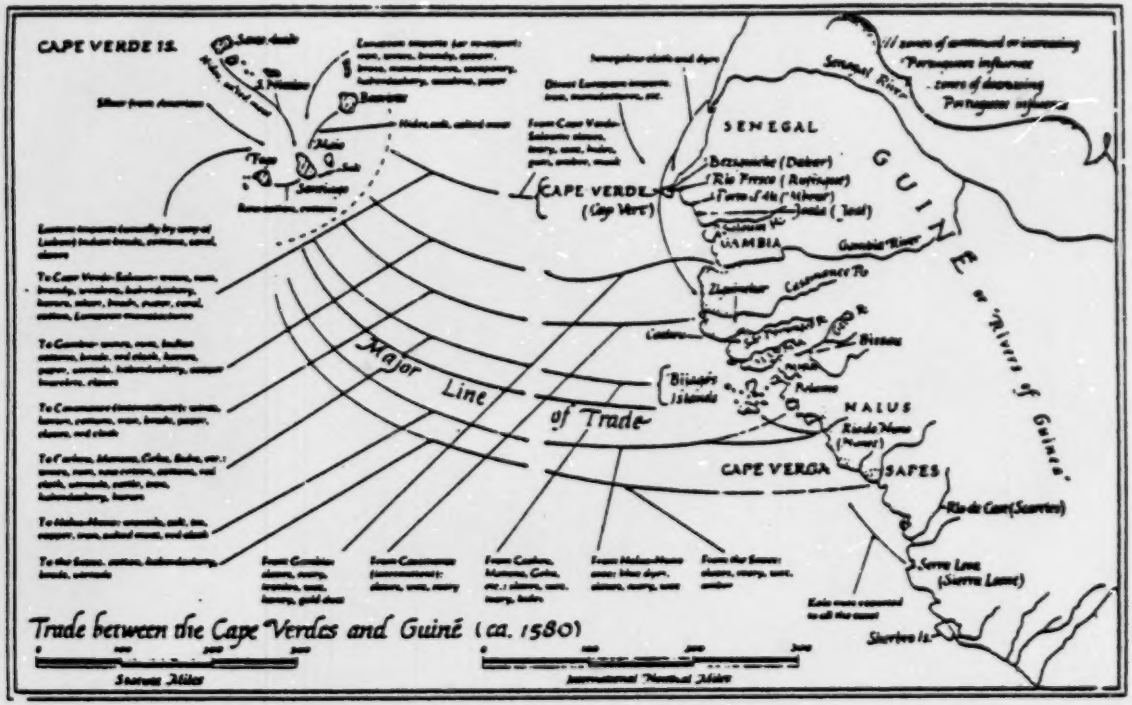
Literary expression is also a strong part of the tradition of Cabo Verde, especially the **Claridade** movement originating in the 1930's. Some works expressed the dissatisfactions, pain, and anger about the islands condition:

> Ilhas perdidas
> no meio do mar,
> esqueçidas
> num canto do mundo
> —que as ondas embalam,
> maltratam,
> abraçam . . . (Jorge Barbosa, in Araujo 1966:99-100).

Despite Portuguese censorship, Barbosa also spoke of the children affected by drought and famine, in his best-known poem "Criancas":

> . . . sem remédios
> sem escolas
> sem brinquédos
> Nimquém sabe
> Nimguém dá por isso (Araujo 1966:93).

8



from: ATLANTIC ISLANDS (1972)
T. Bentley Duncan
U. of Chicago Press (Chicago & London)

Araujo has suggested an ongoing struggle in the literary tradition between purely romantic themes of escape and the themes of revolt. He might also agree with Jorge Pedro Barbosa (son of Jorge Barbosa) that these cultural expressions played an important role in the developing "cultural independence" (Barbosa 1976) — that it was through written work that the message of conditions was conveyed, to Portugal, to other Portuguese-speaking countries (especially Brazil[4]). Despite limited facilities—books, libraries, communications and transportation networks—Cape Verdean writers were honored and recognized. Moreover, and this is a point worth emphasizing, the poetry and literature were not property of only a small elite group. Araujo points out that in his five-month study in Cabo Verde, he was surprised at the level of knowledge about the literary tradition among the people. Eugenio Tavares, writing at the turn of the century, is known to most Cape Verdeans and descendants through the mornas played by our many Cape Verdean musical groups. This widespread familiarity may perhaps be partly explained by the fact that writers were not able to isolate themselves from people and everyday conditions: all worked by day, for example, Barbosa was Customs Director on Sal; Balthazar Lopes an instructor at the Liceu Gil Eanes, as was Antonio Aurelio Goncalves; Sergio Frisoni an employee of Italcable, and Corsino Fortes a teacher at the Praia branch of the Liceu Gil Eanes (Araujo 1966).

One may well speak of a "paradox of Cabo Verde". Araujo admitted a sense of wonder and perhaps disbelief, but his visit confirmed:

> . . . the authenticity of those contradictions which I had for so long observed in the conversations of my parents or on the pages of my books. I discovered in a poor and rain-forsaken land an artistically sensitive and intellectually mature people. I encountered in what is reputed a backward and out-of-the-way community a cultural validity which produced the literature discussed. (1966:x).

It is this kind of unexpected impact from such a small and seemingly insignificant land that many question today in looking at the experience of Cape Verdeans and descendants in the United States. Why, several ask, the persistence of certain cultural and social forms? Why the maintenance of strong intra-population ties? Are they real, or manufactured? What, after all, is the meaning of "Cape Verdean"?

I'd like to suggest that the experience of Cape Verdeans and the "contribution to the United States" can be interpreted as the strength and imprint of people struggling for survival and flourishment — as well as to retain the power of self-definition — and in the process to confront some very serious and fundamental challenges for this society.

This expression follows the historical record. The people of Cabo Verde—like millions of other human beings throughout human history — did not merely succumb to or acquiesce in what could

periodically have been mass destruction. They not only reacted to colonial and natural disaster pressures. They also actively resisted — by subverting colonial trade restrictions, by periodically refusing to pay taxes, by petitioning the local and colonial government for redress, through literary anger and pain — and they migrated.

Migration—and the Developing Cabo Verde-United States Connection

The Cabo Verde-U.S. connection dates back perhaps more than 200 years. The first meetings probably occurred as far back as the mid-17th century, when American ships stopped at the Islands. Platzer, in his research on Black maritime history, has suggested that at one point American ships outnumbered all others in the ports of Cabo Verde (Platzer 1978). The strong historical connection is also evidenced by the establishment of a United States consul office on the island of Brava in 1816 (Duncan 1972:240). These early links generated substantial assistance to Cabo Verde during two severe famines:

> In the famine of 1830-1833, while the Portuguese colonial administration and British shipping companies did little to prevent 30,000 Cape Verdeans from starving to death, the merchants of Baltimore, Boston, Newburyport, New York, Philadelphia, Portland and Salem shipped 7,000 to 8,000 barrels of meal and other provisions, valued at $25,000, to the Islands. During the famine of 1855-56, Portuguese-American merchants in New York, together with Catholic and Protestant groups, dispatched a ship laden with 400 barrels of corn and meal. The American consul in Cabo Verde reported warm appreciation for the 'disinterested benevolence' of America's citizens (Platzer 1977).

The very earliest record of Cape Verdeans coming to the Americas are probably impossible to reconstruct. It is clear, however, that since the mid-19th century, the greatest periods of emigration were associated with those years of most extreme drought (Almeida and Nyran 1976:20).

The most significant recorded period of immigration to the United States occurred at the turn of this century, thus making Cape Verdeans part of the "newer immigrant" populations. The earliest settlement patterns followed the routes of the whaling ships, thus the seaport towns became the primary settlement areas on the West as well as the East Coast. Moving, for example, into the developing urban areas of New Bedford and Fall River, Massachusetts and Providence, Rhode Island, many joined the labor force of textile and other industrial sectors, often settling together (combination of choice and necessity). Even today, sections of New Bedford are quickly associated with the many national-origin populations resident there. Cape Verdeans were not the first immigrants to reach New Bedford. In addition to the European immigrants, they were also preceded by Azoreans. According to Baxter (1974), Rogers (1974), Smith (1975), and several discussants, the Azoreans

had been welcomed because they filled available industrical positions. By the time of arrival of Cape Verdeans, the industrial base was beginning to decline. Furthermore, the Cape Verdeans were seen by the Azoreans as "Black Portuguese", an association which carried with it a stigma that the Azoreans wanted to avoid. The extent of hostilities and resentments between the two populations is difficult to specify. An ethnic indication of the separation of the new population is the establishment in 1905 of a parish specifically for Cape Verdeans (Rogers 1974).

Also in the pattern of immigrant populations, Cape Verdeans organized several voluntary associations (Mutual Benefit Societies, or relief organizations) to which monies were contributed for distribution in times of need, and also organizations for social purposes (celebrations, feasts, etc.): the many musical groups were usually an integral part of celebrations and other ethnic gatherings. A 1975 directory of Cape Verdean organizations (TCHUBA 1975) listed over sixty organizations, mostly in the New England areas and many for the purpose of scholarship fund raising. This collective practice is there for one that has continued. Remittances of money, food, and clothing to the islands were also important activities. Friedlander reported being told by the Brava postmaster that approximately $100,000 in money orders was received in one year prior to 1912. Parenthetically, Cadman reports that an estimated $600,000 per year is received on the average in the current period (1977).

One of the interesting aspects of this migration is that many of the earliest Cape Verdeans and continuing until the 1960's came in vessels owned and manned by Cape Verdeans. Antonio Coelho, the first to purchase a vessel, sailed the **Nellie May** from Providence to Brava in 1892, carrying 50 passengers and goods, charging $15.00 per passenger. Returning in the spring of 1893, the **Nellie May** carried 117 passengers and crew members. Other well-known Cape Verdean sea captains have included Quirino Pinheiro; Henry Rose; John Aurich and nephew John Sousa, who conducted the Cape Verde trade for 40 years; John Costa[f] who even after losing an arm, revived the packet trade with the **Lucy Evelyn** after the war; and Pedro Evora, who commanded the last Cabo Verde packets: the **Madalan, Maria Sony** and the **Ernestina**. The last transatlantic voyage was probably made by the Ernestina in 1965 (Platzer 1975).

This seafaring tradition is one of the legacies of earlier generations to current Cape Verdeans and descendants. Several 1st and 2nd-generation American born young men have continued the tradition (for example, in the Navy or Merchant Marines), but this occupational inclination has declined with later generations[g].

Restrictive immigration policies of the 1920's precipitated a decline in immigration, but it increased again after World War II and then again after the 1965 policy changes, which allowed for unlimited immigration of immediate relatives. A 1977 State Department release (#360:8/4/77) quotes 1000 per year as of 1973. Interestingly

enough, this represents an average of four relatives per primary immigrating person since until independence, Cape Verdean immigration was restricted to 200 persons. One can observe that emigration has probably increased since 1973, related to pre — and post-independence developments in the Islands. The State Department release estimates a current daily arrival between 2 and 26 persons from Cabo Verde to Boston (the city and surrounding areas have become the center for Cape Verdean immigration. This would make the annual rate probably higher than 1000.

The question of how many Cape Verdeans and descendants are in the United States today is an intrigueing question, and another example of the human ability to make an impact upon the environment. As suggested above, official identification has been difficult, stemming from the inaccuracies and indifference of the earliest immigration periods. Rogers, studying this subject in the 1970's, found Cape Verdeans "hidden" in other categories, such as "other Africa", "other Europe", "all other and not reported", or "other Atlantic Islands" (1974:4-8). Still, the official estimate is 275,000 - 300,000 (Cadman 1974:4; Department of State 1977:4) — how this estimate emerged will be discussed later.

PARAMETERS OF "IDENTITY-POSITION" AMONG CAPE VERDEANS AND DESCENDANTS

Settings and People

Differences in time and environment have created different histories and experiences. New Bedford, for example, is estimated to include a sizable Cape Verdean population within its total of approximately 100,000 residents, has provided a consistently urbanized and industrial environment — a fact that clearly has influenced the developing ethnic experience. Nearby Wareham can perhaps be described as becoming urban", having experienced dramatic demographic changes within the last 5-7 years (Moore 1976). In this locality, the first Cape Verdean presence was noted in the 1894 Annual Town Report (according to surname); the earliest arrivals formed the backbone of the Cranberry industry, although this fact is not explicitly recorded in area histories. Again, Cape Verdeans and other workers resisted by strikes in the 1930's, and these actions instigated the investigation by the Dillingham Commission (Tyack 1952). Starting in the 1940's, a few Cape Verdean growers became active, with one still having major holdings today (Caesar Monteiro).

The Waterbury/Bridgeport/New Haven region is reported to include about 5000 Cape Verdeans and descendants, having roots in the Cape Cod area and with organizations originating in the 1920's (Cardoso 1978). These organizations organized relief efforts for the Islands, with significant drives in 1948, 1960 and 1970, and collaborated with other groups to raise scholarship funds for local recipients. An active VFW Post was established in 1958, named for Winston R. Dina, Cape Verdean and first veteran of Fairfield County killed in World War II.

Regardless of different local origins and circumstance, however, there are numerous similarities in settings and experience.

The Wareham and New Bedford regional experience is instructive because that is an area of our earliest North American experience. Furthermore, it is quite typical for Cape Verdean persons meeting each other for the first time in New York, California, Florida or elsewhere will inevitably be able to identify some common origin or acquaintance stemming from this geographic area. The later patterns seem to have followed patterns of moving further inland and south, for example, into the Connecticut/New York/New Jersey region.

Evidence and observation suggest that Cape Verdeans and descendants have tended to marry endogamously, like most other immigrant groups, although there are variations. One can observe that marriages outside the immediate population have increased in the last few decades; this is probably correlated with individual persons' mobility outside the original geographic residence. Among five families represented in one discussion group in 1975, each family had at least one person within it (usually a younger, but not necessarily youngest marrying age person) who was married or associated with someone outside the population: these were Black American or Italian.

Cape Verdeans and descendants have contributed talents and skills not only within the Cape Verdean parameters but also within the larger society — a function of the structure and context of our society. It is important to take note of some of these persons: to demonstrate the diversity and also to illustrate the accomplishments within the context of the struggle to survive and flourish. This account—not exhaustive—also provides information which is not usually accessible.

The professional area in which Cape Verdeans have participated perhaps the longest is the legal area. The names of Attorneys James Bento, Antonio Cardozo, Alfred Gomes, Roy Teixeira are well-known for their work with immigrants and/or in Cape Verdean organizational and community life. Perhaps the best-known is that of Judge George Leitao, practising for many years in Illinois and for the last several years a Circuit Court Judge in Cook County. His

"Identity-position" is used here to refer to ethnic identification preferences which are expressed by participants or can be observed (Houston 1977 unpublished ms).

Illinois opinions and decisions have been important in battles for human and civil rights. All of these lawyers completed their studies in the 1920's through the 1940's.

Education has been another active area. Known throughout the Cape Verdean population and to scores of others because of her wide travels and teaching is Belmira Nunes Lopes, the first high school graduate (Wareham 1917) who graduated also from Radcliffe, and Columbia for Doctorate; she has been instrumental in an extensive number of organizations and efforts. Contemporary practitioners include: Marie Andrade and Anthony Lopes, principals in Philadelphia and Oakland; Francis Medina, principal in Wareham; Virginia Goncalves and Yvonne Smart, teacher and librarian in Providence; Georgette Gonsalves, Boston teacher (Georgette is also the first Cape Verdean-American woman to travel to Cabo Verde after the Independence, on a U.S. government mission); Margaret and Regina Lopes, teacher and pianist in Germany and Massachusetts; and a number of others in cities and towns across the country.

At least two men have had distinguished careers in the Armed Services: Retired Lieutenant-Colonel Harry Fernandes and Retired Colonel Francis Lopes. Among the clergy are Rev. Martin Gomes of New Bedford and Rev. Williston Holbert of Taunton. The population includes a number of medical professionals: Dr.s Cristovao Morais and Elder Santos of New York; Drs. L.S.A. Gomez and Henry Groebe of Wareham and New Bedford, and a significant number of nursing professionals, some of whom have moved into administration such as Laura Spencer of Boston and Louise Barboza of Taunton.

In the performing arts, there are a number of musicians' groups especially in the New England area but also Joseph Monte, Antonio Marques and Joe Livramento (who plays professionally in New York). In an unusual area, Tony Ramos is active in Video Art in New York and abroad.

Individuals have moved into elective politics primarily on the local level: Tom Lopes (running in 1978 for statewide office), Alfrieda Cardoza, Raymond Cardoza in Wareham; Peter Coelho in Rhode Island). Local participation has also assumed other forms: well-known community activists Joaquim Custodio and Manuel Costa of New Bedford; Raymond Almeida, primary organizer of TCHUBA, headquartered in Boston; Manuel Neves, publisher and organizer of **Cape Verdean** Newspaper founded in 1969; "Joli" Gonsalves, Housing Organizer in New Bedford and organizer of a Cultural Center ("Joli" is also a trained vocalist, having studied and travelled with the DePauw Choir and sung with Belafonte Troubadors).

Most of the persons mentioned above are recognized within their local areas including within the Cape Verdean population. Others have also received national recognition: eg, the self-proclaimed "Daddy" Grace; the widely-popular Tavares brothers, sons of a well-known musician ("Flash" Viera) and nephew of singer Vicki Viera; the singer Leroy Gomez; the late Paul Gonsalves of the Duke

Ellington band; Horace Silver, the famed and innovative jazz musician who composed and recorded "Cape Verdean Blues" and "Cantiga por Nha Pai"; Davey Lopes, Captain and 2nd-Baseman of the Los Angeles Dodgers; and of course, Judge Leitao.

This kind of account focusses on **individuals**, but we need to remember that none have achieved **alone**: each represents many other individuals, life histories, and influences. These others must also be acknowledged — the thousands of persons who made the Transatlantic voyages and who struggled to develop. Oppression and exploitation was not unknown either in the Islands or here, as it is not unknown today, but the experience perhaps demonstrates that they tried to operate not out of oppression but rather out of personal and collective action: using existing opportunities, building new ones, and meanwhile struggling to maintain the power of self-definition. The factory labor, the back-breaking cranberry industry labor, the sometimes devastating ocean voyages — all are part of the history, but not the entire history.

It is stressed again that the listing of individuals is not exhaustive. It is rather illustrative, of not only individual but also collective accomplishment. It is the population-wide contribution and experience that I seek to acknowledge here.

Objective Position: Occupation, Income and Education

As mentioned above, surveys of occupational/educational/income achievement within the Cape Verdean population have not been systematically carried out. From general observation, however, it is clear that the large proportion of Cape Verdeans and descendants are wage and/or salaried workers, with a growing number in what has been called the "administrative sector" (Cox 1948), and an interestingly noteworthy number of self-employed persons (several of whom own small business establishments). Observation confirms that the first representatives to pursue higher education and legal and/or education careers probably occurred in the 1920-30's; the population includes lawyers, educators, social service workers, medical professionals, librarians, as well as career service officers, musicians and vocalists, and a number of supervisory personnel in government and industry.

This illustrative data, although informative, is only a beginning part of much-needed study. The writer has initiated some survey and analysis of accessible data and observation in the southeastern New England area. Even without further documentation, however, patterns of discrimination have undoubtedly affected the position and participation of Cape Verdeans and descendants. In one small Massachusetts town, for instance, it wasn't until the late 1940's that Cape Verdean-background young people were allowed to participate in spectator sports at the local High School; it wasn't until the mid'50's that Cape Verdean-background young people

were employed in the shopping center of town; it wasn't until the 1950's that Cape Verdean-background young people began to join the college-attending population in any significant numbers (although it is my speculation that these numbers are proportionately decreasing — this warrants further study).

Developing Patterns of Ethnic Identification

Ascription and Self-Ascription

Some investigators (Baxter unpublished 1974; Rogers 1974; Smith 1975; Tyack 1952) and individual discussants have suggested that the earliest immigrant arrivals from Cape Verde were perceived as "Portuguese", "Black Portuguese", and, in New Bedford, part of the growing American Black population. Whatever the public ascription, the preceeding Azorean newcomers were not hospitable to the Cape Verdeans. As more and more American Blacks moved into New Bedford, as the number of American-born Cape Verdeans grew, the industrial opportunities declined and competition increased. These tensions were more visibly articulated in the 1960's with the influx of federal funds into the municipality. The limitedness of these funds encourages local vying for control, particularly between the Cape Verdean-background persons and Blacks (an internal view of this struggle can be seen in issues of the Cape Verdean newspaper: 5/69; 7/70; 8/70; 2/71).

In Wareham, where perhaps 95% or more of the "non-white" population is Cape Verdean-background, and where the influx of federal funding is much more recent, the ultimate consequences of this phase in terms of ethnic identification patterns must be further investigated. This dynamic convergence is having very important impact on the development not only of the town itself, but also of the town's various populations in relation to each other and to the re-developing economic base of the town.

In the area of self-ascription, The Cape Verdean ethnic experience provides a good illustration of the dynamics of ethnicity in convergence with situational context. Patterns of ethnic identification reflect the criss-crossing of synchronic and diachronic, the merger of individual and collective expression, and attempts to retain the power of self-definition, while simultaneously responding to external pressures.

Earlier interviews (Pires 1959 unpublished ms) had revealed the developing ethnic identification patterns, seen sometimes as competing, sometimes as complementary: Portuguese, Black, and Cape Verdean. It was clear that these had different meanings to different people. Baxter (1974 unpublished ms) has developed a similar chronological typology, identifying these ethnic identification strategies among Cape Verdeans and descendants in New Bedford:

a) **Cape Verdean-Portuguese:** adopted upon arrival and used until approximately the World War I period;

b) **Cape Verdean-Black:** adopted by some as response to and assimilation of discrimination faced by armed service participants; as response to growing opposition from Azoreans for decreasing jobs; and related to beginning participation in Black American voluntary associations (eg, NAACP);

c) **Cape Verdean-African:** associated with the rise of independence movements in Africa;

d) **Cape Verdean-American:** more current strategy, associated with activities which emphasize Cape Verdeans as "culturally unique but successfully adapted . . . to American life" (1974:7).

My work in 1975 and continuing study confirms that this typology is generally appropriate, although more emphasis should probably be given to the switching among such identification strategies in different situations. Several discussants described the development of their own conscious identification strategies and expressed the changes over time as well as in different contexts. One must acknowledge here the impact of "the process of being studied" and the more public discussions of ethnicity of Cape Verdeans as a result of the pending independence of the islands on individuals' conscious reflections and retrospective interpretations. Nonetheless, the patterns were repeated often enough so as to suggest reliability. Discussants could also identify the factors which influenced or precipitated the selection of one strategy or another: for example, being raised by grandparents (particularly a grandmother); growing up in areas where and when immigration was still active and many ethnic enclaves existed alongside each other; leaving their home communities (for educational, occupational, or armed service reasons) and discovering the lack of knowledge about or acknowledgement of the Cape Verdean population; experiencing discrimination either at home or elsewhere; or participation in social action or other federally-funded programs. One can also verify this situationality of selection in the identification as "Black" or "minority" for eligibility for scholarship assistance or occupational opportunity; emphasis on the Cape Verdean identification and symbols (eg music, foods, language); in social gatherings or fund-raising affairs; participating with Black and/or White Americans in joing political or social activities. Rather than an interpretation of such behavior as perhaps "inconsistent" (Mitchell 1966:59), such is increasingly being interpreted as pragmatic, choice-making behavior based upon conscious readings of the context and demands of the situation (Fitzgerald 1974; Skinner 1974; Vincent 1968). What must be further examined is how the options themselves become developed or constrained and how the selected strategies in turn influence individual or collective access to strategic resources.

The Impact of the Independence

Horowitz has asked the question: "what kinds of collective experiences are likely to have an impact on judgements of identity?" (1976:123) An event occuring across the ocean cannot qualify as technically a collective experience. However, through the media, through organizational involvement, through formal and informal discussions, and through the continuing immigration and personal communications over the sea miles, the Independence of Cape Verde has had — and continues to have — a critical defining impact on the Cape Verdean ethnic experience in America.

Dimensions of this critical impact emerge particularly from the person and vision of the leader of the liberation struggle, Amilcar Cabral; the context and terms of the Independence of Cape Verde; and the projected unification with new-independent Guinea-Bissau.

Cited as a most brilliant of the revolutionary figures, Cabral was the leading figure in formation and development of the PAIGC (Partico Africano da Independenca do Guine e Cabo Verde), and an intimate member of the developing liberation movements on the African continent. Born in Bafata, Guine of a Cape Verdean father and Guinean mother, he perhaps represented the future unification which he proclaimed. Raised and educated in his formative years in Cabo Verde and further educated as an agronomist in Lisbon, he is remembered by contemporaries in terms characteristic of "charismatic leaders": he could "see into the future", could "bring people together" (Barbosa 1977; Fernandes 1977; Ferreira 1977). Through recorded speeches and writings, one today can experience him as a gifted teacher, incisive and courageous analyst of the social scene, and visionary.

Besides these qualities, Cabral was also, however, politically astute and an extraordinary organizer. He was apparently equally at home in rural villages of Guine and at the United Nations lectern. Much to the chagrin of the Portuguese government, he and Agostinho Neto were received by the Pope in the 1960's. He was a skillful tactitian, and used the international stage well, bringing international attention and support to the Liberation movements. He insisted on the need to build post-independence programs that considered the specific local conditions, that no one program could be transposed whole, without modifications, to other settings. He insisted also on a decolonization of the mind, and recapturing of a people's history, taking from the past only what was useable to build a strong foundation for an autonomous culture. Furthermore, he foresaw that political independence would be only the first step in a long period of national reconstruction — but also that important human resources were available and could be mobilized (Cabral 1969; 1972; 1973; 1974; Challand 1969).

Cabral's assassination in 1973 eliminated this important source of inspiration and technical guidance for the subsequent economic, social and political transformation of Cabo Verde. Unfortunately,

the kind of comprehensive analysis which he had done for Guine and used to project potential post-independence challenges, is not available for Cabo Verde. With his insistence that each situation and reality must be specifically and individually examined and understood (Cabral 1969), he must have anticipated the different kinds of challenges that would be faced in Cabo Verde, because of its different history and experience. Yet there is apparently no record of these reflections and plans. Aside from this irretreivable loss, however, the post-independence developments of Cabo Verde — and, I would suggest, the developing struggles around patterns of identity-position here — are deeply influenced by the nature and terms of Cabo Verde's accession to independence. This process will be briefly summarized here.

Cabo Verde's decolonization and independence were negotiated as part of a broader negotiation process that included the independence of Guine; the objective of unification with an independent Guinea-Bissau was part of the 1956 PAIGC Programme (Cabral 1962:30). Investigation of available documents confirms that — contrary to some opinion in the United States — the unification was indeed an original objective. What is not clear, however, is why, except for what seem like fairly simplistic explanations: most of the earliest leaders were Cape Verdean; they recognized that Cabo Verde's geographical and undefended position made armed struggle virtually impossible (in fact, the Portuguese Army had important bases there until 1974); and it is unlikely that Cabo Verde could have negotiated its independence separately. An historical irony lies in the unification controversy: from the mid-16th to late 19th century, both were governed from Santiago. In the 1870's, Barretto, the Guinean governor, protested the injustice of such an arrangement, calling it "misgovernment from a distance" (Hammond 1966:50).

Logic of the unification was stressed in Cabral's writings:

> . . . par leur nature, par leur historie, leur geographie, par leurs tendances economiques, partout, jusque par leur sang, la Guinee et les Iles du Cap Vert constituent un tout. Seuls les ignorants ne savent pas cela (Afrique-Asie 6/75:18).

This was often repeated by Cape Verdeans assuming leadership after his assassination (No Pintcha 1974; Pereira 1975). When asked why the declaration of independence for Cabo Verde was not included in Guine's declaration, Cabral is reported to have answered: "Even twins are never born at the same time" (Obichere 1975:206).

Nonetheless, analysis of documents and chronology of events between mid-1973 and the 1975 independence of Cape Verde reveals ambiguities and tensions which laid the foundation for post-independence challenges, and simultaneously for some of the ethnic identification struggles here. Five official documents can be used to chart the path toward independence for this archipelago:

(1) Proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau by the People's National Assembly (October 1973)

(2) Constitution of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau (October 1973)

(3) Agreement Granting Independence of Portuguese Guinea (August 1974)

(4) Agreement Between the Portuguese Government and the Partido Africano Da Independencia Da Guine e Cabo Verde (May 1975) (regarding the decolonization of Cape Verde)

(5) Organic Statute of the State of Cape Verde (December 1974)

Significantly, unification with Guinea-Bissau was explicit only in the documents framed autonomously by representatives of PAIGC (1 and 2). The agreement between Portugal and PAIGC recognizes that the "accession of the Cape Verde Islands to independence . . . constitutes a necessary factor to a durable peace between the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the Portuguese Republic" (1974:24), but does not acknowledge the projected unification. The 1975 decolonization agreement (4) refers to the "right of the people of Cape Verde to self-determination and independence" and to transferring "power to the future independent State of Cape Verde" (1975:5). The **Organic Statute of the State of Cape Verde** similarly refers to a "body corporate under domestic public law" (1975:8).

A further relevant note is struck in Guinea-Bissau's **Constitution:**

> Article 20: Persons from the Cape Verde archipelago shall have the same rights and duties as citizens of the State of Guinea-Bissau and shall be assimilated to the latter for all legal purposes (1973:4).

One can legitimately argue that the differences in perspective among these official documents can be attributed to the differences in power position and Portugal's desire to maintain control of Cape Verde. Nonetheless, these documents must be acknowledged as the representation of what was negotiated, compromised, struggled over, won and lost. Reports during the negotiation processes between May 1974 and the ultimate August agreement to recognize Guinea-Bissau's independence confirm, if only implicitly, that these negotiations were rocky and that the status of Cape Verde was a major point of contention **African Recorder** 7/2-15/74); **(New York Times** 6/1/74). Structurally, two sovereign states have come into being, with, for example, two representatives at the United Nations, two separate government structures, although the PAIGC leadership structure is the same, and efforts have begun to coordinate postal and other services. The unification of these two states has not yet occurred. Official representatives maintain that there are more pressing economic and national priorities at the moment: the statement issued after the Third Party Congress held in November 1977 proclaimed the need to live together and do things together, . . . unity will be established when the two feel the need **(Voz Do Pov 1977).**

Other analyses and implications can be drawn from this chronology and documentation. The important point here is that this official

documentation and the obvious tensions which it reflected helped to build the base for not only the platform of the major United States-based Cape Verdean group opposing the unification in early 1975. In also stimulated countless discussions, arguments and debates about the development of ethnic identification patterns within the United States population. Rhetorical and juridical arguments challenged listeners and readers to question by what authority one sovereign nation could declare its representation of the people of another entity, which was (prior to December 1974) a colony and (after that date) a projected sovereign nation itself. The relevant sections of the Guinea-Bissau documents were condemned as being

> . . . decreed without previous consultation with nor consent of the Cape Verdean population (Veiga 1975)

Information about and interpretation of the terms for independence surfaced many of the intra-population tensions which had either lain dormant or just become part of the accepted patterns of interaction.

The Independence of Cabo Verde can be correlated with developing patterns of ethnic identification among Cape Verdeans in the United States in the following ways:

(1) The fact of independence has reverberated solidly within the Cape Verdean population in the United States. This kind of impact is rarely mentioned in ethnicity literature, except for a brief comment by Klass (1960), speaking of the 1947 independence of India and its impact on East Indians in Trinidad.

This occurrence cannot be minimized, however. In addition to the formal discussions and controversies mentioned above, it has had an ongoing impact especially on young people of Cape Verdean descent. Several of the younger discussants in the 1975 study expressed a greater intellectual and personal curiousity about their own historical past. Several also expressed the desire to learn the language — although, simultaneously, when asked if they had taken actual steps toward this end, few could answer affirmatively. They were reminded that their own claims and/or inclinations would have to be accompanied with action.

The fact of independence has another ramification the consequences of which will probably not be identifiable for another generation or so. Those immigrating to this country after 1975 are coming from an independent nation, not a colony — in a sense, a place with a "name" of its own. That historical fact will have to yield some qualitative difference between them and their predecessors: their history is certainly different from that of the person who arrived in 1910, or 1920, or even 1950. There can already be detected a divergence with the American-born population that has devastating implications. Several adult Cape Verdean background persons have remarked that recently-arriving Cape Verdeans are more quickly taking advantage of, for example, educational

options; this may well be related to greater access to financial assistance; nonetheless, the pattern is worthy of further scrutiny.

(2) The "collective experience" of the independence provided a motor force for individuals and groups within the Cape Verdean population to push forth their own attempts at self-definition, to counteract what many interpret as definition by default — whether it be as Black American, or Portuguese, or whatever. As expressed in a "Letter to the Editor", many were exercising the right to self-definition:

> First call us Cape Verdean; then you can call us anything else as well (Pimental 1975).

Population estimate for Cape Verdeans and descendants within the United States is another testament to the growing ability to make impact upon the environment. In the early 1970's, when the Liberation struggles of the PAIGC was generating domestic support groups and individuals began to develop financial and other support here, it was necessary to specify the population. Non-Cape Verdean-organizations were largely unaware of the United States component. Consequently, the earliest United States organizers reviewed the sparse literature, explored possible estimates based upon immigration estimates and generations of experience here, and developed the estimate of 250,000 to 300,000 which is almost equivalent to the Islands' population. This estimate, quoted in official sources, is probably fairly close.

(3) The pre-Independence developments and terms of the Independence surfaced many differences and tensions within the population, yet simultaneously may harbor the seeds of dynamic synthesis. Particularly in 1975 discussions, generations were divided (although not always along assumed lines), and inter-Island stereotypes were sometimes renewed (relating mostly to references to lesser or greater degree of "Africanization"). The major New Bedford daily carried a running dialogue between two Cape Verdean men (one United States-born, the other Island-born and younger of the two) and an interested observer (New Bedford Standard Times 3/23/75; 4/6/75; 5/20/75; 5/1/75).

At its most extreme, the polarization categorized people and positions along political and ethnic identification boundaries. Put most simplistically, if one supported the PAIGC, then one supported also a totally African identification, and was probably Communist as well. If one opposed the PAIGC and especially opposed the unification with Guinea-Bissau, then one was still identified with the colonialist Portugal, and probably wanted to be "White". As with most rhetorical pronouncements, this one contains some truth and some stretching of that truth. The different interpretations were used respectively — and with no meager skill, it must be added — to create support for the Party and Liberation movement, and on the other hand for support of opposition to Party and unification. Decolonization and Independence have been achieved; unification has not.

As its base, the fundamental political and ideological difference is indeed between a European as distinguished from an African identification, and between different interpretations of history. These reflect some historically stereotypic notions about both as well as the recognizably valid consequences of either in this complex society. Not to be ignored in this difference is the formal political identification of the new Cabo Verde: although explicitly non-aligned, its government is Socialist-oriented, although moving cautiously and pragmatically in internal reforms and foreign relations (Decraene 1977; Hodges 1977). Nonetheless, this association is fraught with suspicion for many Cape Verdean-descent persons — as it is for many other Americans.

Struggle Over the Identity-Base: Paradoxes—and Opportunities

A legitimate question must be raised about such "ethnic strengthening": the definition — or redefinition, as it were — is toward what end? During the Liberation struggle, the collective unity was critical and "anti-oppressor"/colonialist" symbols were key to mobilization of people. Questioning and opposition by American and other groups could be seen — and was seen — as interruption in the inevitable process of decolonization (as such, the strategies were perhaps doomed from the start, except for the possible impact of raising issues and serving notice that persons outside the Islands were vitally interested in ongoing events).

In the context and structure of United States society, the strengthening can also be seen as barriers to mobilization of oppressed populations. Ethnicity cannot be looked at in isolation, or in competition with, attention to stratification principles and patterns: as Mullings consistently reminds us, the concepts of class and ethnicity are intertwined, and not competing concepts (Mullings 1977). The simultaneity of certain overseas developments coupled with domestic developments has produced a potentially dangerous paradox. First, the visibility and recognition of an otherwise "invisible" population has increased. This has supported certain movements such as the successful drive (TCHUBA 1975) to get categorical recognition in all formal State School forms in Massachusetts (a drive supported by non-Cape Verdean legislators, educators, and community activists as well). This in turn supports institutional response of, for instance, bilingual classes for increasing numbers of Cape Verdean children arriving in the Boston areas. This clarity and available option of expression of one's identity-position must also impact the competence and confidence of individuals. We know a great deal about individual and collective development strengthened by this kind of foundation.

Paradoxically, we also know well how easily one population can be pitted against another by institutions and organizations. After the

decade of the 1960's, access to strategic resources for populations long discriminated against in our society has now contracted and diminished. The strong mobilization of Black people in that decade influenced other categories of people to organize and demand specific recognition. The institutional response, (of human service agencies, of colleges and universities, of government) has been not to increase the "pie", but rather to divide the same "pie" into smaller pieces. Or it has been to insist that all past inequities have been remedied and there is no longer justification for aggressive activities. The current Bakke discussion and decision symbolize this pull. Within this context, many argue that the population can not afford the resources invested in this "ethnic strengthening". This is a serious caveat and must be heeded.

In what I interpret as a transitional phase in Cape Verdean ethnic experience, this paradox can also be seen as having yielded a major opportunity. There is fundamental political/ideological tension within the population between a mostly-European and distinguished from a mostly-African identification stance, and between different interpretations of history. Nonetheless, if one acknowledges that ethnicity and identity-positions are related also to the situation, to human will and action, then this creative tension can be said to be producing a dialectical synthesis. Widespread and enthusiastic dialogue within the population has surfaced active attempts to energize the meaning of "Cape Verdean", with the new national-identify created by the independence playing a significant dimension. This distinct "Cape Verdean" stance is being propounded as the core "identity-base", around and in conjunction with which other identity-positions are also accepted and called upon. This is a stance which may be energized by representatives of different generations and ideological positions, and speak to the United States reality.

In this transitional phase, there is evidence of organization along lines emphasizing the boundaries (Barth 1969) between the Cape Verdean and descendant population and others, as well as organization and participation along lines emphasizing the fluidity of these boundaries. In the first category are the continuation (and sometimes revitalization) of voluntary association for social and/or task-oriented purposes; the recognition of individuals who have made outstanding contributions to organizational life; the building up of informal networks in order to facilitate access to educational/occupational opportunities; continuation of Cape Verdean newspapers, and more recently, the development of local radio and TV programs in the New England area.

In addition, the name "Cape Verdean" usually implies identification along descent lines. At the same time, organization and participation across boundaries can be seen in the participation of Cape Verdean-background persons in organizations to demand changes in employment, education, housing issues, and participation in general civic activities. The specific extent of such

participation and differences among different settings need further investigation. The synthesis and thrust for the suggested definition for the "identity-base" must be seen within an acknowledged stress within younger United States-born Cape Verdean-background persons upon the contextual identification as Black.

It is this youngest generation that will probably determine the further course of this synthesis, and whether or not the developing resolution of potential conflicts will diminish or grow. Their history is different: within the earliest part of their lives, the independence impact has been critical; at the same time, young people migrating from the new Republic are adding a different dimension to the fabric of Cape Verdean experience in the United States. This collective generation, how they experience and utilize existing opportunities, how they make or fight for new ones, how they relate to others in the process, can be anticipated as becoming the newest "cultural innovators" (Barth 1969).

To them and to all of us, a most important message must be conveyed: in the process of strengthening, in the process of emphasizing self-definition, we must not and should not do this at the expense of others. In our society, our particular history and its combination of immigration and color make that an ever-present possibility. It is our human-ness which is ultimately the most crucial dimension among us all.

Footnotes

[1]The exact dates and rival claims are still matters of debate. Duncan refers to a course in Lisbon in which students were told of five different "probable" dates (Duncan 1972:18).

[2]As Wallerstein points out, even though it was Portugal that took the lead in 15th-century expansion that would become development of the capitalist world-economy, by the mid-17th century the "core" areas would be England, the Netherlands, and to some extent northern France. Speaking of a potential system of "international debt peonage", he asserts that the "profits of Portuguese sugar plantations based on slave labor . . . went not merely to the Portuguese directly involved, but to persons in the more 'advanced' European economies, who provided both initial capital and an industrial outlet." (1975:85).

Portugal's clearly "underdeveloped" status, its dependence on its colonies, and its role as intermediary for other Western nations have been recognized not only in the social science literature. Self-recognition of this position has been articulated as well by Portuguese officials. Van Dongan quotes an official statement in the early 1800's, following Brazilian independence:

> (the colonies) . . . give influence and position which would otherwise be denied us so justifiably because of the narrow boundaries of the metropole and situation on the peninsula (in Abshire and Samuels 1969:41).

In 1974 Spinola, in the midst of decolonization negotiations, expressed his country's expectation of international support for its role:

> . . . The Azores-Cape Verde-Portuguese Africa link seems to me to be quite evident in the context of the global defense of the free world. And the Portuguese government has repeatedly stressed the importance of

this link, which should be studied in the light of the collegiate structure of NATO and the requirements of a planetary defense strategy (No Pinicha 1974:18).

[5]Hammond (1966) reminds us that this fictive disguise was part of a long pattern, in which Portugal had moved from designation of "colonies", or "possessions", to "overseas territories" — a designation meant to stress the concept of a broad "Portuguese community".

Cabo Verde is clearly an "underdeveloped" country and was clearly exploited. Rodney's (1972) emphasis on the exploitation involved in colonialization is important and must be heeded — too often the story of Africa is told with too little acknowledgement of the devastation of human development and potential. At the same time, one must heed, as Skinner urges (1977), the "development" which occurs within the process of "underdevelopment" — as does Cabral (1973). A broader concept of underdevelopment, then, would acknowledge that "in order to carry out its own development, the more powerful colonizer must engage in certain 'development' activities in the colony . . . which do not contribute to its (the colony's) own fulfillment of potential. Nonetheless, this dialectical interaction may in fact harbor the seeds of future development (and resistance) by the colony." (Houston unpublished ms. 1977:4).

[6]The Brazilian staff member accompanying the UN Visiting Mission in 1975 expressed surprise and pleasure at discovering the familiarity with Brazilian writers and music within the islands.

[7]The Ernestina has a long American-connected history. Built in 1894, the 80-foot schooner was originally the Effie Morrissey and was involved in Arctic exploration, scientific voyages, and educational enterprises. It was sold in the 1940's to a Cape Verdean, Henrique Mendes, and thus began it second history of Transatlantic voyages. After 1965 and until a couple of years ago, she was used as an inter-island packet. She is now in Sao Vicente, having been donated to the people of the United States, in special recognition of the interest and work of the Cape Verdean population. A broad-based citizen effort is active in the States to finance her restoration and repatriation and the beginning of her fourth history in the United States—cross—cultural exchange, youth and community development, and maritime history preservation.

Cape Verdean maritime history is elaborated by Blatzer (1978). Some of his research has also been incorporated in the recently available Cape Verdeans in America (Almeida 1978).

[8]This change can be seen in the writer's own background experience. An older brother followed this tradition in the Navy and the Merchant Marines and has been a seamen for over 25 consecutive years. Their father had been a seaman, after first arrival in U.S. about 1910, and later a foreman in the cranberry and construction industries; his own father had also been a seaman. Noone in succeeding generations has pursued this seafaring vocation.

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Annex I Proclamation of the Independence of Guinea-Bissau
Annex II Constitution of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau
Annex III Communique Issued by Aristedes Pereira
A/AC.109/L.1002/Add.1:
Appendix II Agreement Between the Portuguese Government and the Partico Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) 12/18/74
Appendix III Organic Statute of the State of Cape Verde 12/74)

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